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ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION:—SUGAR MONOPOLY; EAST INDIA TRADE; MANUFACTURING DISTRESS; EFFECTS OF MONOPOLY ON PLANTERS AND SLAVES; HAYTI, CODE RURAL; OUTRAGE IN JAMAICA; MANCHESTER PETITION, &c.

In the continued absence of all *official* information respecting what has been passing in our Colonies, on the subject of Reform, we cannot better employ the pages of this month's Reporter than in collecting together the substance of a variety of papers which have recently appeared on several important Colonial questions. And, first, with respect to

THE MONOPOLY ENJOYED BY SLAVE-HOLDERS.

The West Indians have embodied their arguments in favour of this monopoly, in a new periodical work, called "The West Indian Reporter," of which two numbers only have appeared. This work, evidently instituted to counteract the effect of our Reporter, furnishes a satisfactory proof of its efficiency. We will briefly state the arguments of this new advocate, accompanying them with the substance of the answers which those arguments have already received.

I. *The Corn-protecting Duties of this country are a precedent for the Protecting Duties on West Indian Produce; and this Protection is still more necessary when the Americans refuse to permit the West Indian Islands to be supplied with provisions direct from that country, and subject the Colonists to the heavy additional expense of obtaining supplies from more distant places.*

Although all monopolies are liable to objection on principle, there is still a wide difference between those monopolies which are intended to uphold a useful and influential class of men in their proper station, and those monopolies which raise individuals above their natural condition, and remove them from their true sphere of usefulness. The corn-protecting duties are intended to prevent the English land-owner, who can grow nothing else but produce for home consumption, from being crushed by competition with foreigners in the production, for his own home market, of the universal food of the people. These duties are in-

tended, also, by encouraging the home cultivation, to prevent England from being too much at the mercy of foreigners, especially in the event of a war; and to retain upon their estates (by enabling them to live at home) those country gentlemen, whose absence abroad, from motives of economy, would be a public calamity. Whether the corn-protecting duties be right or wrong, it is clear that the sugar-protecting duties differ *fundamentally* from them, in all these respects:—The intention of the corn-protecting duties is to *encourage* the home growth by protecting the English corn-grower against the foreign corn-grower in the home market. The sugar-protecting duties, by encouraging an exclusive eagerness for sugar cultivation, *prevent* the West Indian land-owners from growing the proper food of the inhabitants, and place those islands at the mercy of foreigners, especially in the event of a war. The cultivation of provisions for their own consumption, and the consequent diminution of sugar cultivation would enable the Colonial Proprietors, generally, to live as the inhabitants of the Bahamas or the Canadas live, in a moderate manner, conformably to their true condition as land-owners in countries purely agricultural; and would place them, according to the different circumstances of the respective localities, on the same relative footing with resident English land-owners subsisting on the produce of their own estates. By the inducements which the sugar-protecting duties hold out to neglect the cultivation of the necessities of life, for the sake of the sugar-monopoly profits, the West Indian Islands are left at the discretion of the Americans, to starve or to supply them, as may best suit American policy; and this great political error is committed, in order that a few individuals, in and out of Parliament, may, at the expense of the mother country, be encouraged in the almost exclusive cultivation of an article for foreign exportation, and enjoy the profits of a monopoly, which costs the consumers in Great Britain, in the extra price of sugars, from one to two millions annually. This false and extravagant policy, instead of operating like the corn-protecting duties, and inducing West Indian land-owners to reside upon their estates, and promote the happiness of those who depend on them, has the reverse effect of enabling many of them to live at the distance of thousands of miles from their property; to cultivate their lands by means of an expensive agency; to eclipse, even in England, the English land-owner possessing a similar number of acres, in this great commercial, manufacturing, and rich country; and to become Members of the House of Commons; instead of occupying their proper places in the colonial assemblies, where their duty lies. Already the Americans boast, that they have the West Indians in their power, and consequently under their influence, because the improvident colonists cannot afford the expense of procuring the necessities of life from Europe, and are induced not to raise them at home by the folly of England in granting bounties and protecting duties on their export produce; in other words, in bribing them to run counter to their true interests. The Americans will only supply these colonies on condition of their being placed, in the colonial ports, on the same footing as English traders: in other words, on condition of the islands becoming American colonies, for all purposes excepting the expense of keeping them, which they willingly

leave to England. These are some of the fruits of the protecting duties and bounties in favour of West Indian produce.

II. *The Proprietors could no longer afford to purchase food for their Slaves if they were deprived of the monopoly; and they would be obliged to throw their lands out of cultivation, as they only get a bare subsistence with the aid of the monopoly.*

The negroes do not starve in the Bahamas, from whence no sugar is exported: they do not starve in Hayti, which enjoys no such protecting duties. On the contrary, those are precisely the islands, where the negroes prosper and increase. The owners of lands do not throw them up in Hayti or in the Bahamas, but live upon them as other land-owners, in countries non-exporting and purely agricultural. They do not pretend to live in England, or to enjoy luxuries which belong only to land-owners in great commercial and manufacturing countries.

III. *The Proprietors must be indemnified for immense sums, expended on sugar houses and other buildings.*

They have been indemnified over and over again, by large monopoly profits, while their patent was in force; it has now expired, and they must take their chance in fair competition. All that has been laid out is the result of monopoly profits already realized.

IV. *25,000 British seamen are employed in the West Indian trade, and 230,000 tons of shipping. England derives an annual revenue of 6,000,000, in the form of duties: and 5,900,000*l.* value of manufactured goods are annually sent to the West Indies.*

The same number of seamen and the same tonnage would be requisite, if the sugar were brought from other places; and the same revenue would be collected by Government on the imported sugar. Only from three to four millions' value of goods are sent to the West Indies, of which a large part goes to South America. The profit on the remainder bears no proportion to the expense of keeping the islands, which amounts to about £1,600,000 annually, to which is to be added the loss to the people of England of a further immense sum annually, in the extra price created by the monopoly, without which the colonists declare that they cannot afford to cultivate sugar. In other words, it is absolutely necessary that we should indemnify them for the annual waste of negro life caused by sugar cultivation and the cart-whip, both of which may cease, if we cease to support them by monopoly prices. The cost of keeping the West Indies, added to the effect of the bounties and protecting duties, imposes on this country a burden of not less than £3,300,000 annually. (See Note, in the following page.)

V. *Sugar is the staple production of the West Indies, and England ought not to transfer the cultivation, and ruin the West Indian colonies, for the sake of the East Indies.*

Sugar cannot be properly called the staple of a country, which can only afford to produce and sell it under the artificial aid of bounties and protecting duties. When this happens to a country, it loses its com-

mercial staple, and becomes agricultural for home consumption. This transfer would neither ruin the West Indies nor the proprietors, as is evident from the instances of the Bahamas and of Hayti, and indeed of all countries purely or chiefly agricultural. The only result would be, that West Indian land-owners must live upon their estates in a plain moderate style, instead of residing in England, and eclipsing the land-owners of a great commercial country. Suppose the islands were independent, they could have no staple of sugar, for no country would pay the extra price.

VI. South America, Mexico, Hayti, and China are not British possessions, and therefore no reasonable man would wish to destroy the trade of British proprietors to transfer it to them.

If the traders of these countries take British manufactures in exchange, it is commercially quite immaterial where they reside, or where the goods are brought into use. The articles are paid for, and therefore the purchase money is spent in England. If the colonial ports are now free to the traders of other countries, the colonial commercial character is at an end; and the colonists are not British proprietors commercially considered, but they are the inhabitants of a neutral country, trading to other countries and also to England. Moreover a sugar trade which can only exist by means of bounties and protecting duties, at the expense of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, is not a trade, but a contrivance for transferring money, from the pockets of the people of England, into those of West Indian proprietors. This dexterous transfer, and not the sugar trade, is their boasted staple. It is no more than a system of pauperism on a large and most extravagant scale.*

VII. The East Indian Proprietors can exist without the production of Sugar; the West Indian Proprietors cannot.

The West Indian Proprietors, by demanding protecting duties and bounties, sufficiently shew that they do not exist by the production of sugar, but by the sums levied on the people of this country, in the form of bounties and protecting duties, to uphold their improvident speculation. Besides, the question is not between the two classes of producers only; the consumers in England have an interest in the matter deserving of consideration. As well might the people of Malta insist on protecting duties to enable them to furnish England with oranges. As

* The bounty on sugar, which amounts to about three shillings a cwt. (half having been taken off last year,) draws from the Exchequer, for an export of about 1,200,000 cwt., the sum of about 180,000*l*. The additional price levied on the public on account of our internal consumption, which amounts to about 3,400,000 cwt. is about 510,000*l*., making together 690,000*l*. The effect of the protecting duty of 10*s*. against East India, and 30*s*. against foreign sugar cannot be very accurately ascertained. If we estimate it at the low rate of 6*s*. a cwt. 1,030,000*l*. more is thus taken out of the pockets of the British consumers, making a grand total of upwards of 1,700,000*l*. or at the average rate of from 100*l*. to 1000*l*. a year to each slave holding sugar planter. This sum, indeed, is divided among them in very unequal proportions, some of them importing more largely than others, but it may be estimated to yield to the sugar farmer at least eight pounds sterling for every ton of sugar he imports. That is to say, the rich and the poor of this country are burthened with this enormous tax, not only to supply luxuries to about 1000 or 2000 sugar farmers, but to enable them, with profit to themselves, to go on wasting the lives of their slaves, at a rate which would ultimately unpeuple the world.

well might the corn of Yorkshire be excluded from the markets of London, lest the farmers of Surrey and Sussex should be thereby obliged to sell their corn at a lower rate.

VIII. *The East Indies were not colonized for the purpose of producing Sugar: the West Indies were.*

The West Indies were partly colonized with a view to sugar cultivation; but that was in order that England might obtain it *cheaper*, not *dearer*, than from elsewhere. This argument, like all the rest of the arguments of the West Indians, proceeds upon the notion that the interests of the mother country are altogether undeserving of regard. Even the acquisition of the vast empire of the East is to avail England nothing, in order that a few owners of land in West Indian Islands, may not descend to their proper station as land-owners in countries non-exporting and purely agricultural. The idea of colonising, to purchase, at a *dearer* rate, the tropical productions, is quite new.

IX. *West Indian Protecting Duties were imposed because they were British Colonies, and cultivated by the aid of British capital: and also because the West Indians were not allowed to have their wants supplied from any other source but the mother country.*

And, is no British capital employed in the East Indies? Is it not employed, and most beneficially employed, in the production of indigo, and of every other article which the colonial monopoly allows East Indians to raise, or us to consume? And, even, if it were not so, we must recollect that the real ends of beneficial commerce are attained if foreign countries take our manufactured goods in exchange for their produce. As for the latter objection it does not now apply, as, with some few exceptions, the colonists may obtain their supplies from whence they please. On the other hand, when the English land-owner is obliged to sell his corn at a minimum of profit, he can only be reinstated by the diminution in the price of those other necessities of life, which he and his tradesmen and labourers must purchase. This he has a right to expect.

X. One argument is employed by the West-Indians against the removal of the Bounty and extra duty, which stultifies all the preceding. They affirm, that *the Bounty does not exist, and that the Protecting Duty produces no effect in raising the price of Sugar to the British consumer.*

If, however, the *Protecting Duty* produces no effect in raising prices, why do the West-Indians contend for its continuance? Does not the very struggle they are making to retain it completely disprove their allegations on this point, even if the case were not otherwise as clear as the sun at noon-day?—As for *the Bounty*, it is true it has been reduced to one half of its former amount in the last year. But that half still remains, and of itself adds somewhat more than 500,000*l.* annually to the cost of the sugar consumed in this country. This has been distinctly admitted in the House of Commons by Mr. Herries, the Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Hibbert, also, the respectable agent of Jamaica, himself engaged in the sugar trade for the last fifty years, thus

addressed his constituents, the Assembly of that island, in a letter dated the 11th of March, 1824 :

" In relation to the alleviation of our commercial distress, it will surprise you, perhaps, that when Mr. Hume stated in the House of Commons the subject of the reduction of the sugar duty, *the members in our interest* did not support him. This arose from a previous assurance from his Majesty's Ministers that a reduction of the sugar duty could not possibly take place, without at once depriving us of all the advantage which we now enjoy, in the principle and produce of calculating the drawback upon the export of refined sugars, *which, taken altogether, is little, if at all short of a gratuitous bounty of six shillings per hundred weight* and without also denying us all that they were ready to concede, in regard both to the duty on rum, and to the regulations under which it is collected."

Since that time the drawback has been lessened by three shillings. Of course three shillings remain. This bounty affects the sugars of the East, as well as those of the West-Indies.

EAST-INDIA TRADE.

It may here, however, be of use to shew what are the probable capabilities of that East-India trade which is thus discouraged; and what are the precise restrictions under which, with a view of favouring our slave colonies, it is at present laid. †

First, as to Restrictions.

A duty of £10 per ton *more* (being 50 per cent. on the prime cost,) is laid on East than on West India Sugar; the duty on West being £27, on East India, £37 per ton.

£28 per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Coffee; the duty on West being £56, on East India £84 per ton.

£28 per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Cocoa; the duty on West being £56, on East India, £84 per ton.

£7 per ton *more* is laid on East than on West India Turmeric; the duty on West being £3, on East India, £10 per ton.

11s. 6d. per gallon *more* is laid on East than on West India Rum; the duty on West being 8s. 6d. on East India, 20s. per gallon.

£6 per cent. ad valorem, is laid on East India Cotton Wool, while West India is admitted free of duty; being the same duty as on American Cotton; although America imposes a large duty of 25 to 100 per cent. on the import of our manufactures; while in India the duty is only 2½ per cent.

There are also higher duties on other articles, such as Dye-woods, Mahogany, Hides, &c. &c. than on similar articles from the West Indies.

* It is remarkable, that though it appears that this matter was fully and clearly understood by the West Indians in 1824 and 1825, yet they contended in the House of Commons, in opposition to Mr. Whitmore, that the effect of the bounty was confined to our trifling export of refined sugar, and that even on that quantity it amounted only to three shillings per Cwt.

† We say nothing at present on the monopoly of the China trade, by which not only is the price of tea, now one of the necessaries of life, doubled or trebled to the population of this country, as compared with its price in the United States, but our traders and manufacturers are shut out from any commercial intercourse with three hundred millions of consumers. It is perfectly obvious how strongly that question bears on the existing distress throughout the United Kingdom.

What aggravates the injustice is, that the Mauritius, a small island (ceded to us by France), and which is cultivated wholly by slaves, has lately been selected as the object of favour, and is the only spot in our Eastern empire put upon the footing of the West Indies, with regard to import duties; while the free labour of India is loaded with imposts.

It would seem as if our hearts were so much wedded to slavery, that we search it out in all parts of the world, as the object, not of repression and disfavour, but of countenance, encouragement, and reward. The calamitous effects produced by this strange policy in the case of the Mauritius, we shall have an opportunity hereafter of exposing.

It is no feeble proof of the extension of which our trade with India is capable, that, since the partial opening of it with that country in 1815, the whole amount of exports has been increased from £2,559,000 in 1815, to £4,800,000 in 1822. And of the immense increase which may be expected in our export of manufactured goods, and especially of manufactured cottons, if by equalizing the duties on the products of India, we permit our manufacturers to take freely these products in exchange, some idea may be formed by the following statement, drawn from authentic documents, of the increased export of our cottons to India since 1814.

| Year ending 5th Jan. | Yards Printed Cotton. | Yards Plain Cotton. | Total. |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------|
| 1815 | 604,800 | 213,388 | 818,188 |
| 1816 | 806,064 | 489,384 | 1,295,448 |
| 1817 | 991,144 | 714,588 | 1,705,732 |
| 1818 | 2,848,692 | 2,468,004 | 5,316,696 |
| 1819 | 4,227,664 | 4,614,372 | 8,842,036 |
| 1820 | 3,714,584 | 3,414,040 | 7,128,624 |
| 1821 | 7,602,252 | 6,724,032 | 14,326,284 |
| 1822 | 9,979,844 | 9,940,728 | 19,920,572 |

We regret that we have not access to the means of continuing this striking exhibition of our rapidly increasing trade to the present time. We cannot doubt, however, that it would prove equally encouraging. But what might not this trade become, if all the existing restrictions in favour of the slave-holders were removed; and if it did not continue cramped and shackled as it is, for no other purpose than that of propping up their vicious, immoral, and, to the country at large, most impolitic and injurious system? Such are our unquestionable facilities of supplying the hundred millions of our Asiatic subjects with manufactured cottons, in return for their raw produce, that considerable quantities even of cotton twist have recently been shipped to India. Most justly, therefore, has it been observed in a recent publication, that—

“Nothing connected with the policy of England is more remarkable, than the degree of apathy which her people generally appear to experience, with reference to the affairs of the most important of all her dependencies, her Eastern Empire. At a moment when the influence of Great Britain is felt and acknowledged over the whole continent of India, where an hundred millions of people, directly under our own sway, and millions upon millions besides, who dwell under the nominal rule of their native princes, look to us as the arbiters of their destiny, and the guardians of their happiness; and when it is avowed, that the loss of this influence would affect us more materially than almost any other calamity.

It is surprising to behold the neglect with which every question relative to the proper management of British India is treated. Nor is it less remarkable, that at a moment when the manufacturing districts in this country are suffering most heavily for want of a market for their goods, and when the manufacturers of other countries are treading closely upon our heels, we should not feel the deep injury the people of Great Britain are sustaining from the restrictions, which cramp our trade with *our own Empire* in the East Indies. If we were fully aware of the vast field which India opens for our relief; and of which we are only prevented from availing ourselves to an extent almost unlimited, by *heavy duties* upon imports from the East Indies, beyond what are laid on similar articles from the West Indies, it is quite impossible that parliament and the public should not with one voice demand their removal."

"We have witnessed, on former occasions," says another writer, "the beneficial effects of fresh openings for our manufactures. A few years ago a new trade was opened with about twenty millions of people in South America, and the most extensive benefits were derived from it. Hence we may form some idea of what the effect would be of opening a free and unrestricted trade with more than one hundred millions of our own fellow subjects in Hindostan, and with upwards of five hundred millions, if we extend that trade to the whole population of Asia.

"What was it which prevented us, until lately, from trading with South America? What, but the restrictions imposed on that trade by the Governments of Spain and Portugal?

"And what now prevents our trading with the five hundred millions of China, Hindostan, and the rest of Asia? What, but the restrictions imposed on that trade by our own Government? The removal of these restrictions is not only within the power of Parliament, but is in strict agreement with the very liberal principles of trade which have been avowed, and which, in a variety of other instances, have been acted upon both by them and by his Majesty's Government."

While we have such means within our reach of alleviating the present distress among our manufacturers, it seems like fatuity to overlook them, and to have recourse, in their stead, to such an inordinately expensive palliative as emigration. How much more effective in that view would it be, while the measure would be attended with no expense, to throw open to the expansive power of our capital, and the energy of our merchants and manufacturers, the immense market of British India, containing a hundred millions of customers, and which is now barred against us for the sake of 1800 sugar planters in the West Indies! Every loom in the kingdom would then, probably, in no long time, be put to work; wages would rise, and the effect would be felt in the comforts of our population from one extremity of the empire to another. How much more powerful still would be the effect, if China, the largest associated population in the world, were also opened to our commerce! And if the fetters of our trade were thus removed, we should not only give full employment to our population at home, but we should greatly mitigate the sufferings of our unhappy fellow subjects, the negro slaves in our Colonies abroad. But this part of the subject deserves to be more distinctly dwelt upon.

EFFECTS OF THE RESTRICTIVE SYSTEM IN THE WEST INDIES.

It is sufficiently obvious that the monopoly enjoyed by the slave colonies is most injurious to our own commercial interests, and most unjust and oppressive towards our Asiatic fellow subjects. It may be shewn, however, to be scarcely less injurious, unjust, and oppressive to the slave colonies themselves.

We have already seen how the bounties and protecting duties operate

to increase the culture of sugar, and to diminish that of provisions, leaving our colonies dependent for their food on the United States, and thus incurring the risk of being starved; and how they also serve to create a non-resident proprietary, whose slaves are left, in their absence, to the care of hirelings. But these are not half the evils with which the protecting system is pregnant. Without this it would not have been possible "that the slave colonies should have continued to this hour in that low and wretched state which they now exhibit;—that the miserable hoe, raised by the feeble hands of men and women driven forward by the cartwhip, should still be their main instrument in turning up the soil, to the neglect of cattle and machinery;*—that all modern improvements in husbandry should be almost unknown;—that one unvarying course of exhausting crops should be pursued, without change or relief;—and that in a climate congenial to them the population should continue progressively and rapidly to decrease."

These evils, we admit, do not originate in the bounties and protecting duties, though they are aggravated by them. They have their origin in Slavery itself, a more deadly enemy tenfold to all improvement than even the *caste* of Hindostan. A blight seems to follow its steps. The very soil which the slave tills seems cursed with progressive barrenness. And while, under the judicious culture of freemen, soils are found to improve; no soil, however fertile, can resist the deteriorating effects of slave cultivation. One obvious cause of this is, that slaves eat no beef, and wear no shoes. There is, therefore, no call for that quantity of cattle, which, both by their manure, and by that change of crops which their due sustenance renders necessary, serves to renew the fertility of the soil.†

However, it is the effect of this vicious system on the happiness of the slave, far more than on the interests of the master, which we are anxious to press on the public attention. Again and again have the West Indians endeavoured to persuade the public that the comfort and happiness of their slaves depend on the large profits of the masters; and statesmen of no mean name have allowed themselves to be imposed upon by such representations. No delusion can be more complete than this. The happiness and comfort of the slaves do indeed depend on the profitableness of their labour, but in an inverse ratio. The severity

* We are aware that this statement has been controverted by no mean authority; we mean that of Major Moody, who, with his usual plausibility, but with a singular infelicity in this case, endeavours to prove it to be untrue that machinery for relieving negro labour has been neglected; because, as he tells us, there are steam engines of great power erected in the West Indies for grinding the sugar cane; and because there are waggons there for conveying the sugars to market. Now we can easily conceive how the introduction of steam engines may increase the demand for slave labour in the cultivation of the cane, which the planters have thus acquired increased facilities of grinding; but this, so far from lightening the toils of the field, is only calculated to aggravate them. In Demerara, for example, there are steam engines enow, but no ploughs. The land is there universally dug by the hoe in the hands of men and women. It is, therefore, trifling with an important subject, to reply to such a statement by referring to the use of machinery, when the machinery which is used, instead of tending to abate the intensity of negro labour, tends only to a severer exaction of it.

† To be fully satisfied on this point, and to see how, of necessity, the value of land is deteriorated by slavery, and advanced by freedom, the reader has only to consult two pamphlets of Mr. Cropper, entitled, *Relief for West Indian Distress*, and the *Injurious Effects of High Prices on the Condition of Slavery*; and one on the *Injurious Effects of Slave Labour*, first published in America, and since re-published by the Anti-Slavery Society.

of exaction and the waste of life may be measured, indeed, in the case of the wretched slave, by the profitableness of the cultivation in which he is employed; and from which the only advantage he derives, is that, like the loom for the produce of which there is an increased demand, he is worn out the sooner. Such indeed is the malignant nature of slavery, that it converts those very circumstances which are ordinarily the most beneficial into curses. The increased demand for the produce of his labour, which raises the wages of the freeman and enlarges his comforts, serves only, in the case of the slave, to quicken the impulse of the cartwhip, and to grind him sooner to dust. The superior fertility of the soil he cultivates produces a like effect. Those who are desirous of satisfying themselves on this point may consult the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, p. 16 to 33. Without, therefore, entering at large into the argument, it is clear that this view of the subject, and this alone, satisfactorily explains the facts of the case; explains, that is to say, why in the least productive of our slave colonies, and where no sugar is grown, and consequently no stimulus applied by bounties and protecting duties, the slaves increase most rapidly: while in Demerara, the most productive of our slave colonies, which makes the largest returns to the labour of the slave, and receives therefore the largest proportion of the bounties and protecting duties, the slaves decrease more rapidly than they increase in the Bahamas. Nay, throughout the whole range of the sugar colonies, the rate of mortality may be measured by the productiveness of the soil, and the consequent share which the planters receive of this great pauper fund,—this direct incentive to improvidence and waste of life,—this infallible stimulus to neglect and oppression on the part of the slave holders.*

On this ground then we make our firm and earnest appeal to the parliament and people of this country, against the monopoly of the slave holders. The existence of slavery, as it exists in our slave colonies, is a crime, in the guilt of which those who with their eyes open yield it their support, must be considered as more or less participating. Now the most effective support given to slavery in the present day, is to be found in this monopoly, and in the protection thereby given to slave holders, against the competition of free labour. Can it be said that there is either reason or justice in compelling those who detest and reprobate this system, to continue to pay a heavy contribution, not

* The effect of slavery in demoralizing both master and slave is well known. Its effect in impoverishing the planter, in proportion to the largeness of his apparent profits, seems an anomaly somewhat more difficult of explanation. The late statistical returns from the West Indies, (see Reporter, No. 19, p. 292, &c.) go to prove this fact, that not only the misery of the slave, but the distress of the planter, will be found to run parallel with the fertility of the soil he cultivates, and the consequent profits of his culture and high appreciation of his slaves. If we take the Colonies which are the most fertile, and where the value of slaves is nearly three times as high as in many of the other Colonies, for example Demerara, Berbice, and Trinidad, there the number of slaves sold in execution is nearly three times as great as elsewhere. The average price of slaves in Demerara and Berbice is 88*l.* sterling: what it is in Trinidad does not appear. The average price of slaves in the Islands of St. Vincent's, Tortola, Bahamas, St. Kitt's, Barbadoes, Dominica, Grenada, and Nevis, appears to be about 28*l.* sterling. The sales of slaves in execution in the three former Colonies, however, amount to one in twenty eight; and in the eight latter to one in eighty. We repeat the reflection we have already made on this extraordinary fact, that it seems to afford "a presumption, that by the ordination of providence, the rigorous exaction of servile labour, in despite of the calculations of a sordid and heartless cupidity, may be expected to issue in the blasted hopes of the oppressor."

for the privilege of putting an end to it, but with the certain effect of maintaining, nay, of aggravating and perpetuating its evils?

A NEW REASON FOR ABOLISHING THE MONOPOLY:

It becomes the more incumbent on the friends of the negro race, to act on these views of the subject, so far, at least, as to deprive slavery of the factitious support which is given to it by means of bounties and protecting duties, because the hope of arriving at the extinction of slavery by other means we fear is daily lessening. The last number of the Reporter sufficiently proves the determination of the colonial legislatures to adopt no effectual measures for bringing about that consummation; and the tendency of certain pamphlets, understood to be official, to lower down or flitter away the original propositions on the subject of reform, and especially that which gave to slaves a power of redeeming themselves at a fair appraisement, cannot but increase the apprehension of delay and disappointment. Emboldened by these apparent vacillations on the part of some official men, the West Indians have come forward and published a manifesto under the name of Alexander Macdonnell, Esq., the purport of which is to represent this species of manumission, which he terms "compulsory manumission," as being *contrary to the spirit of the parliamentary resolutions of 1823; as an infringement of the rights of property; as injurious to the well being of the slaves; and as endangering the safety of the colonies.* It is sufficient to state these propositions, to prove their extravagance and their fallacy. That to give the slave the power, by the fruits of his own industry, of obtaining the manumission of himself, his wife, or children, should be injurious to his well being, and dangerous to the peace of the colonies, is a statement so absurd in itself, and so opposed to all experience, not only in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, but in our own, that we may safely leave it to the scorn it merits.* Then as to being an infringement on the rights of property; what bill for turnpikes, canals, or docks in this country, does not involve a greater and more direct infringement on the rights of property, without the slightest imputation of illegality or injustice? Or what general measure of policy has ever been adopted less liable to such a charge, and in which loss and inconvenience to private individuals are more sedulously guarded against? That it violates the spirit of Mr. Canning's resolutions, is a view of the subject reserved for the ingenuity of Mr. Macdonnell to discover. We believe that Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst understand the purpose and intent of their own resolutions better than Mr. Macdonnell; and so far have the great body of the colonists, at home and abroad, been from understanding them differently, that on no occasion, which we can recollect, of discussions either in parliament, or in the colonial assemblies, has it been intimated that the Government, in giving to the slave the power of redeeming himself and his family by the fruits of his industry,

* In our own ~~Spanish~~ colonies in the West Indies there are about 100,000 emancipated slaves or their descendants. In this number it does not appear that there is above one in three or four hundred who ~~receive~~ the slightest relief as paupers. Their general respectability and their loyalty are ~~admitted~~ and the peace and safety of the colonies are in fact in their hands, as they form the ~~source~~ of the local militia.

had been guilty of the slightest deviation from the letter or spirit of their own resolutions of May 1823.

If, however, such be the doctrine which, at this late hour, the Colonists mean to maintain; if they mean to shut out all hope of manumission from the slave independently of the will of his master; and thus do their utmost to perpetuate the horrid institution of slavery for ages and generations to come,—how much more incumbent does it become upon the Parliament and people of this country to withdraw all those facitious props by which we have aggravated its malignity, while we have shared its guilt? We have here, in short, the very strongest additional motives for labouring to put an end to bounties and protecting duties without a moment's delay; being convinced, as has been well said:

“That, whatever difficulties the Slave question may present under other aspects, the people of England will thus at least be delivered from the bitter consciousness of maintaining, by oppressive and unnecessary premiums, a system of iniquity degrading to the national character, subversive of every legal and constitutional principle, and wholly at variance with the dictates of sound policy, humanity, and justice.”*

HAYTI.—CODE RURAL.

In our last Number (pp. 309, 310) we gave a brief account of an attempt that had been made to pass upon the public an old proclamation of Toussaint, of the year 1799, enforcing field labour by a kind of military discipline, as a new and genuine proclamation by Boyer in the year 1826. This was effected by the very simple process of omitting the beginning and the conclusion of the original proclamation, and substituting Boyer's name for that of Toussaint Louverture. The declared object of giving this document, thus fabricated, to the world, was to prove that labour was compulsory in Hayti as well as in Jamaica. That such a clumsy and fraudulent expedient should have been resorted to, in order to establish this point, may be accepted as a proof of the absence of all better evidence.—But it is pretended, and Mr. Hibbert, the agent of Jamaica, has published a letter in the newspapers to that effect, that though it cannot now be denied that this proclamation, on which so much undue stress had been laid, is false and fabricated; yet, there does exist a Code Rural, enacted in April or May, 1826, by the Legislature of Hayti, by which the same important truth, that negroes will not labour without compulsion, is fully established.—Mr. Hibbert avows, indeed, with a generous self-devotion, that the act of affixing Boyer's name to the previously truncated proclamation, was his act, and not that of his constituents in Jamaica. He adopts, however, and, after time for reflection, repeats their comment on the Code Rural, as exhibiting a system by which the “*driver* is made answerable for the labourer, the overseer for his *drivers*,” &c. Mr. Hibbert says he is in possession of the code. He could therefore have ascertained the accuracy of this comment. But if we may judge of its accuracy by that part of the code which he has chosen to publish, nothing can be more unlike the truth. In the extracts which he has exhibited, (and we presume he has given such as are best adapted to his purpose and that of his constituents), there is no mention made of the *driver*, nor the

* Surrey Anti-Slavery Petition.

slightest allusion to such a personage. On the contrary, the whole system, as far as it is rendered intelligible by the few sentences which have been selected for the public eye, is absolutely inconsistent with any such idea. It seems to relate to the due fulfilment of contracts between farmers and their workmen;—to the regulation of the periods and hours of work;—to an equal distribution of the labour of repairing the high-ways;—and to the repression of vagrancy. And in these respects it bears a close analogy to the laws on the same subject which exist in England. Every thing is decided by the law and by the magistrate; and the penalties consist in all cases either of a pecuniary fine or imprisonment, or, as the gentlemen of the Jamaica Assembly tell us, in the forfeiture of wages.*

Mr. Hibbert pretends to be very angry that a Mr. Henderson, a merchant of Hayti, and some other writer on the subject, should have attributed to the gentlemen of Jamaica, with whom these rash publications and incorrect statements originated, a malignity of purpose as respected the people of Hayti. We will not enter into the dispute between Mr. Hibbert and Mr. Henderson, especially as we understand the latter gentleman to have quitted England. But we cannot wonder that Mr. Henderson, or any man of plain understanding, who finds before him a *prima facie* case of forgery as it respects one document, and of the grossest misrepresentation as it respects another—the whole accompanied by the most injurious as well as unfounded inferences—should employ a somewhat ardent expression of feeling towards those whom he deemed the deliberate and wilful calumniators, by such means, of himself and his Haytian brethren. We hope soon to see the whole of this disputed code before the public. In the mean time, we would remark, that our impression of the probable state of the case is simply this; an impression, however, for the accuracy of which we do not vouch.—The government of Hayti had contracted to make certain large payments to France in consideration of the recognition by that country of its independence. Good faith required that these payments should be punctually made; and justice required that the contributions necessary to that end should be borne as fairly and equally as possible by the Haytian people. How could this be effected but by requiring every individual, whose freedom had been secured by the arrangement, to contribute his fair share of the cost of it? To effect this object, the Legislature of Hayti, elected by the people of Hayti, appear to have passed a law to prevent the whole burden of that contribution from falling, as it must otherwise do, on the industrious part of the population; and to oblige the most idle and worthless to lend their aid. A measure proceeding on such a general principle as this would be beneficial in every state as well as in Hayti, and at all times equally with the present. Why it was adopted at this particular time, and not before, by the Haytian Legislature, is probably to be accounted for by the new and

* It is a strong indication of the disingenuousness with which the particular clauses of this Code, given to the public, have been selected, that but for this unguarded observation, we should not have known that wages had formed a part of the case at all. Every article in the Code which relates to wages has been carefully left out in these *excerpts*. The entire Code, however, will soon be forthcoming.

peculiar exigencies of their situation. Whether all the regulations of the code, when they shall be made known, will prove to be such as sound political economists can approve, is another question. Judging, however, from the brief specimen of it which we have been permitted to peruse, we should say, that though exceptions may be taken to some of its regulations, yet, on the whole, it indicates a vast advance in freedom and civilization since the period of Toussaint's proclamation; and furnishes abundant proof that the condition of the Haytian labourer is as remote from that of the colonial slave, as the condition of the slave differs from that of the peasant of England or of France.

OUTRAGEOUS ATTACK ON METHODISTS IN JAMAICA.

On the 13th instant, Dr. Lushington brought to the knowledge of the House of Commons, the following act of lawless violence, almost equalling in atrocity the outrage committed, in Barbadoes, against Mr. Shrewsbury.—On Christmas day last, the militia regiment had been called out, in the parish of St. Ann, to keep watch and ward over the slave population; and to protect the property, and preserve the safety of their masters. The regiment assisted at divine service, which was performed at the parish church, and was addressed in a sermon, by the Rev. Mr. Bridges, late Chaplain to the Bishop of Jamaica. That discourse was replete with inflammatory language, directed against the Methodist Missionaries in the Island, and inciting to acts of outrage and bloodshed. The white company of the regiment was, in the course of the afternoon, left on guard in the vicinity of the house of Mr. Radcliffe, the Methodist Missionary. Towards midnight an attack was made on the missionary meeting-house, and on the house of Mr. Radcliffe the missionary, inhabited by himself, his wife, children, and servants. The attack was made with muskets and horse-pistols, and fourteen musket balls were fired into the house, not hurriedly, but by word of command. The guard was all this time on duty in the close vicinity of Mr. Radcliffe's house, but no attempt at interference took place on their part; and it was owing, not to the humanity of this white company, or to the Christian exhortations of the Reverend Mr. Bridges, but to the accident of the balls not having taken effect, that murder was not added to outrage and violence. Dr. L's object in moving for information on the subject, was to induce the House, by instituting an enquiry, not only to visit the guilty with punishment, but to prevent all encroachment on the principles of toleration and religious freedom. To the Wesleyan Missionaries this country was indebted for the small portion of instruction and religious knowledge at present to be found among the lower classes and slave population of the West Indies. But for them, the whole of the black population of the West Indies would have continued in a state of idolatry and paganism. Government had most wisely determined to give a Bishop and additional Clergy to the Island, but he should grieve, if the Church Establishment there were to engage in the wicked attempt to exterminate all other sects. If such an attempt were made to oppress them, he would be the first to come forward to enable them to obtain that protection to which, by the laws of God and of the land, they were entitled.—

What an example of subordination too did these white militia men set to their free black and coloured brethren in arms; and to the slave population?—But the matter did not stop here. On the Sunday following, (two days only having elapsed from the commission of the outrage,) the same clergyman alluded to the act of violence which had been perpetrated, and repeated the same sermon. It was right the House should know who this Rev. Mr. Bridges was. He was a Gentleman who had first rendered himself notorious by a libel on the character of Mr. Wilberforce, whom he had thus designated:—"Mel in ore, Verba lactis, Fel in corde, Fraus in factis." For this mode of treating this venerated name, Mr. Bridges had been rewarded with a considerable sum of money, by the House of Assembly; and the Bishop of Jamaica had further rewarded him, by appointing him his chaplain, though at the time of the outrage, the Rev. Gentleman no longer continued to hold this office. He hoped some way might be discovered to punish not only those who had fired the bullets, but the instigator to that act of violence. He was not surprised at the act, after the transaction which had occurred at Barbadoes, and the impunity with which it had been attended. True, he had a better opinion of Jamaica, than of Barbadoes. He understood, that soon after this occurrence, Col. Cox had endeavoured to investigate it. He did not know the result of the investigation, but hoped it would be attended with better consequences than the inquiry at Barbadoes. He trusted, the colony would anticipate the mother country in the adoption of a remedy for the evil. After what had occurred at Barbadoes, however, he was resolved not to allow one instance of intolerance in the West India Islands to pass, without immediately bringing it before the House. The Hon. and Learned Member concluded by moving for "Copies of all dispatches received, or which may be received from Jamaica, respecting an attack on the Wesleyan Missionary Meeting, and dwelling-houses, in the parish of St. Ann, in the month of December last."

Government, it appears, has as yet received no official information on the subject.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO SUGAR DUTIES.

The subject of the Sugar Duties has been fixed several times for discussion in the House of Commons, but owing to various accidental causes has hitherto been postponed. It is understood, however, that in the progress of the Annual Duties' Bill through the House, that part of it which respects Sugar will be fully canvassed. Besides this, Mr. Whitmore has given notice of a specific motion, in the ensuing month of May, on the subject of the restrictions which cramp our East India Trade. Several petitions have already been sent up from those commercial and manufacturing districts which are more immediately interested in this question;—and who, indeed, is not interested in it?—A Petition from Manchester, signed by near 400 of the principal merchants and manufacturers of that important place, contains a statement, which is substantially, to the following effect, viz:

That, in consequence of the restrictions imposed by this country upon the importation of the raw produce of other countries, and the general commercial

policy heretofore adopted, Nations which were formerly our best customers, have been induced to lay heavy duties upon our manufactures, to obtain machinery or the means of making it from this neighbourhood, and to prevail upon our workmen to emigrate. By these means they have been enabled to produce a considerable proportion of the goods with which we formerly supplied them, and, in some instances, to rival us in other markets.

That these circumstances have largely contributed to the present state of extreme suffering and privation to which the labouring classes in this town and neighbourhood are subjected, and for which, if some remedy is not applied, by opening fresh markets for the produce of their industry, the Petitioners apprehend they must see these sufferings and privation of their workmen still continue or increase; the means of supplying them with employment daily diminish; and their best artisans leave them to find a more ample subsistence by transferring their abilities to the services, and for the aggrandisement of rival nations.

That this country has, within her own dominions, the means of accomplishing much, by facilitating the trade with our East Indian possessions—A trade which, though it has been progressively and rapidly increasing from this neighbourhood, and has become highly important, would have been much more extended had it not been obstructed by the difficulty of obtaining profitable returns; a difficulty caused in a great measure by many important articles of East Indian produce, being burthened with higher duties than similar articles imported from our West India Colonies.

That the ground of reciprocal advantage on which the protection was granted to the West Indians, has now ceased by the removal of the restrictions imposed upon them as regarded the shipping of their produce to this country.

That, although many European nations and the United States of America are allowed a free trade with our East Indian possessions, and by obtaining the produce of these countries in exchange for their own, become carriers of it to other parts of the world; yet, still if the duties upon East Indian productions were only equal to those upon West Indian produce, this country might enter into a fair competition with them, and thereby be enabled to feed her famishing workmen, employ more largely her shipping, increase the revenue, and more firmly rivet, by the bonds of mutual interest and mutual benefits, the connection between Great Britain, and this most important of her dependencies.

That, as the bounty paid upon the refined sugar raises the price of all sugar consumed in this country, and is not only a heavy burden upon the people, but limits the consumption of that article, and is, therefore, an obstacle in the way of a more extended sale of our manufactures, the Petitioners, therefore, earnestly pray, that the House will take these subjects into their serious consideration, and by removing the bounty now paid on the export of refined sugar, and reducing the duties upon the imports from our East Indian possessions to the same scale as those paid upon similar articles from the West Indian Colonies, allow the Petitioners that room for the employment of capital and extension of industry to which, in accordance with the line of policy sanctioned by Parliament, they beg leave humbly to represent that they consider themselves entitled.

This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office 18, Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchards, 187, Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill. They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.

